Rank-and-File Group In Bakery Union

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Allies Insist U.S. Govt. Must Talk with USSR

Seasons Greetings, 1957

Racists Win Voting Curb In Alabama

Alabama racists struck a new blow at the Constitutional rights of Negroes when they jammed through passage of a referendum, Dec. 17, abolishing Macon County which has a predominantly Negro population. The county will now be divided among neighboring counties to fragment its Negro vote.

The measure, which was sponsored by State Senator Sam Englehardt, leader of the Alabama White Citizens Councils, will next go before a state legislative committee for ironing out of legal loopholes.

HIGH VOTE AGAINST

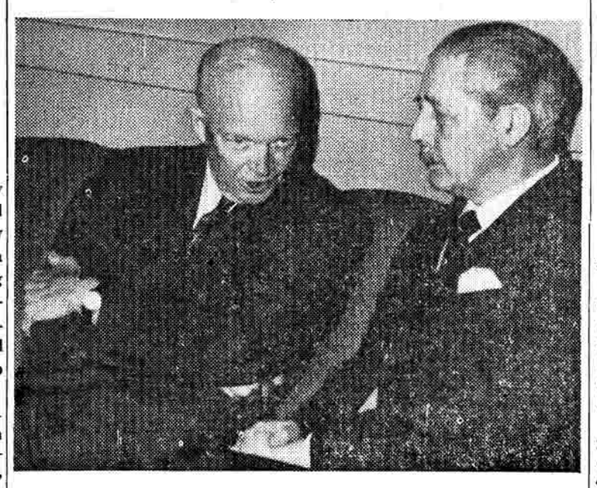
While the white supremacists won passage of the measure, the vote on it was far from the victory they anticipated with the results indicating little popular enthusiasm for it. With 1,900 of Alabama's 2,780 counties reporting, the measure has a majority of 58,000 votes to 40,000.

Particularly significant was the number of people who did not vote on the issue at all. Only 25% of the state's registered voters took a stand on the referendum. Of eight state-wide issues that won passage only one polled a lower vote than the Macon County measure.

In Mobile County, the second largest in the state, the proposition was defeated by a five to three vote. In Jefferson County, the most populated in the state, it barely squeaked through by a margin of 15,000 votes to 14,000.

Meanwhile, the action was assailed by Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. In a statement issued Dec. 18, he declared that with this deprivation of the political rights of Alabama Negroes, "Congress . . . should reduce the number of its Representatives from Alabama in compliance with the Fourteenth Amendment . . ." **The amendment provides for reduction of representation in proportion to the number of citizens illegally deprived of their vote.**

Face Thorny Problems



President Eisenhower (left) and British Prime Minister Macmillan during their Bermuda conference last spring. Shortly afterward Britain announced major arms cuts, declaring there is no present defense against the consequence of nuclear attack. At the current NATO conference Macmillan is supporting the idea of negotiations with the Soviet Union.

NATO Meeting Votes Renewed Negotiations

By George Lavan

U.S. imperialism suffered a setback in foreign policy at the recent Paris conference of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The NATO nations, whom the U.S. State Department has heretofore always been able to cajole or bulldoze into line, almost unanimously insisted that some sort of negotiations with the Soviet Union be entered into.

In the week prior to the conference Washington had cavalierly dismissed, as unworthy of consideration and mere "mischief-making," the letters of Soviet Premier Bulganin to NATO powers in which he proposed negotiations to lessen the military tensions between the Soviet and capitalist blocs. Eisenhower and Dulles arrived in Europe with such words of refusal on their lips. The U.S. did not even have the subject on its proposed agenda for the confab of the rulers of the 15 NATO nations. But these spokesmen for the America's Big Business government not only had to spend most of their time on this subject and to eat their earlier words, but they ended up voting for discussions with Soviet representatives in the near future.

NO PRESSURE FOR AGREEMENT

There is no indication that the NATO nations who forced the recommendation for talks with the Soviet diplomats insist that any agreement come out of these talks. There is certainly no indication that they are demanding a "big-deal" compromise of conflicts between imperialism and the Soviet bloc on a world scale.

Why then were the NATO politicians so insistent that talks with the USSR be begun? What is their aim?

There has been a tremendous rise in anti-war feeling among the masses of all countries since sputnik announced the age of missile warfare. The prospect of H-bomb destruction from rockets that fly 10,000 miles per hour and descend from outer space, thus beyond interception by any plane — in fact unstoppable, has **horrified the people of Europe. All the more so since their politicians have aligned their countries in a military pact against the nation now most advanced in rocketry — the USSR. In every European parliament the opposition parties are taking advantage of this popular feeling to make things difficult for the parties in office.**

Thus chief executives of the NATO powers (14 of them were there, all except Portuguese dictator Salazar) felt it was stupidity or selfish unconcern for the U.S. to stubbornly refuse even to engage in the high-level discussions publicly proposed by the Soviet rulers.

This refusal, the European politicians believe, only serves to confirm the healthy suspicions of the masses of the people in

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Jobless Total in Steady Climb Throughout U.S.

Unemployment in November reached 3.2 million according to the conservative estimates of the U.S. Departments of Labor and Commerce and total employment declined. This was the highest jobless figure for any November since 1949 — a recession year. It marked an increase of 680,000 over October.

Personal income dropped $1 billion for the month of November, the bulk of this drop among production workers in durable goods (television, auto, refrigerator, etc.) manufacturing industries. This particular statistic reflected not only the climbing unemployment, but also the cut in the work week in some plants and shops.

Dr. Emerson P. Schmidt, Chief Economist of the United States Chamber of Commerce has warned the American business community to expect a recession "at least as severe" as the downturn of 1949 and 1954.

The approaching Xmas season — holiday spirit, general good cheer and the rest — did not deter the business executives of the nation from mapping out layoff plans. A news round-up by the Wall Street Journal (Dec. 18) tells the grim story. Many of the familiar big names of American industry admit plans for layoffs of short or long duration. The roll call includes General Motors, Trailmobile, Radio Corporation of America, Philco, Ford Motor, General Electric and Westinghouse.

STEEL PRODUCTION FALLS

The steel industry has been steadily cutting back production, and industry spokesmen predict that the month of December will be their worst month. Non-ferrous metal producers (copper, aluminum, etc.) have what they call their private recession which is now a year and half old.

The metal working industry as a whole is dropping in production. All commodities in movement as reflected by car loading figures show a decline.

Meanwhile, U.S. exports are shrinking. For a number of reasons foreign countries are finding it more difficult to put out dollars to buy American goods and are imposing controls that cut down imports from the U.S.

In short, these and many other reports on the economic situation point up re-emergence of traditional difficulties of the capitalist economy when its productive powers outproduce the available market. Big Business spokesmen, their press agents and crystal-ball gazers are united in a hope that the end of 1958 will see a resumption of business prosperity. They base their hope upon a new and bigger arms program stimulated by the missile development.

Many favored corporations are in for more lush profits but it is not assured that the missile program will mean a significant jump in employment. **For one thing, while more Federal money will pour into that program it will undoubtedly be accompanied by a cut in what has now become obsolete or less important military fields.**

Little Rock Negro Student Suspended

Minnie Jean Brown, 16 years old, one of the nine Negro students who have braved racist terror and harrassment to attend Cental High School in Little Rock, Ark. was suspended by school authorities last week for a minimum of 3 days. According to the school superintendent, a white boy in the school cafeteria blocked the aisle through which Miss Brown was carrying a tray of food. "She lost her temper," the superintendent said, "and dumped her food on the white boy." The boy was not suspended. Another school official said the students present said the incident "could have been an accident."

Indonesian Army Takes Control of Dutch Holding

DEC. 19 — The Indonesian Army last week took over control of virtually all Dutch-owned properties in the country. Many of these had been seized by the workers in the course of a campaign against Dutch imperialism that began Dec. 3. Total Dutch investments in the islands—the former Dutch East Indies—are estimated from $1 to $1.5 billion.

The Army chief of staff, Abdul Haris Nasutoin, has ordered all army commanders throughout the country to place Dutch enterprises under their management. At the same time he has forbidden the workers from carrying through any further seizures. In practice, army control means little change in the management of the Dutch holdings. "In most cases," writes Walter Briggs from Jakarta in the Nov. 16 New York Herald Tribune, "Dutch enterprises have continued to operate with Dutchmen in control, and an Indonesian corporal stays posted outside as a symbol of the Army's protection and the nation's authority."

WANT BIGGER SHARE

This does not mean, however, that government seizures of Dutch properties are mere formalities. The Indonesian capitalist class, whose interests the government represents, wants to weaken Dutch imperialism's hold on the economy and gain a greater share for itself. Furthermore, the seizures allow the government to invite U.S. capital to replace Dutch ownership in the enterprises on terms that give more leeway to Indonesian interests. It is for this limited goal that the Indonesian government initated the take-over policy. But **Indonesian capitalists fear the workers carrying through the seizures, because whenever this happened in the past two weeks the workers established control over the Dutch holdings. This is a revolutionary step in the direction of eliminating capitalist ownership altogether. To block it, the army has hastened to take over the Dutch properties.**

The Communist Party leadership is also opposed to workers' seizures and to workers' control. "For the most part the Indonesian workers who began taking over Dutch enterprises two weeks ago were not affiliated with the Commonist Party as has been widely but inaccurately reported in the outside world," wrote Tillman Durdin in the Dec. 16 New York Times. Most of the worker groups were affiliated with the Nationalist party and the union that took over the Dutch KPM shipping company headquarters had the reputation of being an anti-Communist union.

"Communist-line members of the National Advisory Council [top advisory body to Indonesian President Sukarno] are known to have actually spoken against the worker take-overs and called such moves ill-disciplined 'anarcho-syndicalism.' The Communists advocated an orderly program of government take-overs such as the system that now has been put into effect."

Despite Army chief Nasution's prohibition of further worker seizures of Dutch property, the movement has spread from Java — principal island of Indonesia — to Sumatra and Borneo. This is a new development for these islands which have been centers of rightist rebellions against the Sukarno government during the past year.

Foster Renews Warfare On Daily Worker Editor

By Harry Ring

William Z. Foster has launched a renewal of open factional warfare against the wing of the Communist Party leadership headed by Daily Worker editor John Gates. Foster's battle cry is the need to "liquidate . . . the revisionism which has almost wrecked the Party. At the same time party secretary Eugene Dennis who has tried to play a balance-of-power role in the fight, is branded by Foster as having "done much to deepen and prolong the Party crisis. . . . Dennis has never taken a firm stand against Revisionism, a course which has tended to appease and conciliate it."

Foster's attack is contained in a lengthy document written **last October and now being generally circulated among the members of the Communist Party. Its first section also appears in the December issue of Political Affairs, with the balance slated for publication next month.**

Some of the material is identical with that contained in a recent article by Foster in the Soviet publication Kommunist and reported in the Dec. 9 N.Y. Times. There Foster also assails Gates for "revisionism." The present article is fashioned as a polemic against Alexander Bittleman, a Dennis supporter, who wrote a twelve-installment tract in the Daily Worker last October entitled, "I Take a Fresh Look."

Aiming beyond Bittleman, Foster charges the Gates group with responsibility for the crisis that has gripped the CP for the past year and a half. He writes: "The Revisionist campaign of liquidationism . . . is what immediately precipitated the Party into crisis . . . Veteran Party members . . . collapsed under the destructive ideological offensive from the Right. Various Party and other Left institutions . . . crumbled under the liquidationism of the Revisionists. . . . There was the tragic fate of the splendid Jefferson School, the California Labor School, the Daily People's World and the Labor Youth League—all of which perished under the Right offensive. . . . The substance of the present crisis is that the Party is deeply sick with a heavy attack of Right Revisionism."

Charges of such scope and character leave little ground for the type of "unity" compromises patched together at the party's national convention last February and at the "Reconstruction" meeting of the national committee last July. **The charges assume particular significance in that they coincide with Kremlin declarations on the need to stamp out "revisionism" in the world Communist parties—that is to end any criticism of the Moscow line and to re-establish unquestioning subservience to it.**

Demagogically presenting himself as the champion of a "class-struggle perspective," Foster flays Bittleman's "fresh look" at "peaceful co-existence" and the "welfare state" as devoid of any real socialist perspective. And he certainly is on safe ground in making the charge. For example, Bittleman asserted: "The emerging period of peaceful co-existence . . . does not call for the abolition of capitalism

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N. Y. Subway Workers Hit Sellouts by Quill

By Fred Halstead

New York City's eight-day subway strike, which ended Dec. 16 when striking motormen voted to return to work, was basically a militant rank-and-file revolt against low-wage, sweetheart agreements between the employing Transit Authority and the bureaucracy of the Transport Workers Union headed by Michael J. Quill.

Here is the background of the strike: Negotiations for a new contract covering 32,000 hourly paid employes on the city-owned subway system were scheduled to begin around the first of the year. Present wages are low, ranging from $1.79 per hour for porters to $2.32 for motormen. Purchasing power of a motorman's take-home pay is actually lower than it was in 1941.

Despite all kind of militant-sounding demagogy by Quill, there had never been a subway strike by the TWU to correct these shameful low wages. The TWU is the industrial union to which the transit workers had until recently generally adhered. In 1955, Quill made a deal — based on his political connections with the Democratic Party machine — with the Transit Authority, a joint city-state body appointed by Mayor Wagner and Governor Harriman.

QUILL'S GIVEAWAYS

The TA recognized the TWU as sole bargaining agent for subway employes and gave it a dues check-off. The next contract provided for insignificant wage increases. **It actually resulted in a loss to the workers by giving up the right to sick pay for the first day of illness and by securing the union's cooperation in a program of increased work loads, particularly affecting the motormen.**

Quill hailed this contract as a great victory and brutally suppressed opposition to it within the TWU. The lack of democracy within the TWU tended to force the widespread discontent into activity outside the union and a number of craft unions were formed seeking separate bargaining rights. One of these, the Motormen's Benevolent Association, was established in 1956. That summer it led a brief strike over conditions.

The MBA, all of whose officers are working motormen, claimed 2,600 of the 3,167 motormen and demanded the right to represent them in the coming negotiations. The Transit Authority announced it would deal with only one union, the one which would win a system-wide representation election scheduled for Dec. 16. Since the TWU was the only established union claiming system-wide membership, it could not lose. On Sunday, Dec. 8, a meeting of 1,200 MBA members voted to strike the next morning — protesting the election and demanding craft recognition.

Mayor Wagner declared the strike "illegal." The TA announced it would operate the subways and replace anyone who struck. Four of the MBA leaders, Theodore Loos, MBA president, Augustine Johnson, Edwin Kiser and Louis Steinfeld were arrested minutes before the 5 A. M. strike deadline.

Quill, who claimed 2,300 of the motormen, ordered 200 of his "organizers" to terminals to "advise our people to remain at work." He loudly declared: "The subway strike is not going to happen." But the motormen walked out just the same.

In court proceedings against the strike leaders, it was revealed that the Transit Authority was **using labor spies** against the MBA. A "bug" microphone was discovered in the MBA office and a reporter found evidence of a wire-tap on the MBA phone.

The New York Herald Tribune ran an editorial entitled: "Fire the Strikers." The N.Y. Times insisted on no compromise with the "illegal" strike.

Both the New York City CIO Council, headed by Quill, and the Central Trades and Labor Council denounced the strikers and insisted on "no compromise" by the city government. Not a single prominent AFL-CIO leader spoke out publicly against the strike-breaking and labor-spying used against the motormen.

Non-strikers were urged to

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AEC Admits Radiation Danger By Cutting 'Safe' Limit 67 Pct.

In a damaging admission about its long efforts to deliberately minimize the extent of the risk involved in exposure to atomic radiation, the Atomic Energy Commission announced Dec. 10 that it has ordered a 67% cut in the permissible levels of radiation exposure for atomic workers and for those living in the area of atomic facilities. The AEC action serves to underscore the real extent of the danger involved in atomic radiation, which is also the basis for the world-wide demand to halt nuclear-arms testing. The decision also confirms the charges made by leading geneticists of the danger to future generations caused by exposure to such radiation.

The new regulations are aimed primarily at limiting exposure during the reproductive years, particularly up to the age of 30. For the first time a limit is set on the total accumulated exposure that an atomic worker may receive over the years.

Sputnik, 'Eggheads' And U.S. Students

By Milton Alvin

The launching of the Soviet Sputniks has produced something new in the thinking of the American ruling class. They have suddenly become aware of the fact that science and the study of scientific subjects are not held in high esteem by American youth.

Attempts are being made to overcome this lack of appreciation. In the television program "Wide Wide World," sponsored by the General Motors Corporation, the world's largest profit maker, a serious effort to convince the audience that the pursuit of scientific studies is necessary and rewarding led to a series of crude but revealing facts regarding the status of science in America.

It seems that high school students are, in the main, not interested in studying science. The reasons they give vary from the difficulties of the subject matter to the relatively low esteem in which the scientists are held by the public.

'EGGHEAD' IN COMEBACK

Underlying this particular effort over TV was an attempt to rehabilitate the so-called "egghead," one of the victims of the witch hunt. Some of the eminent scientists interviewed and the narrator, Dave Garroway, made specific reference to the fact that "eggheads," that is, people who think, should be reverenced and not ridiculed.

The naval commander of the atomic submarine Nautilus, who appeared on the program, referred to lectures he attended at the University of California given by Dr. Oppenheimer, a prominent victim of the witch hunt during its McCarthyite period.

The entire program, in the words of its narrator, Garroway, sought to answer the question of what happens to the American child, who at the age of six shows a lively interest around him, and who at sixteen is no longer interested in science.

The one-and-a-half hour attempt only hinted at the correct answer. In American society, where the symbols of success are the Cadillac car and the mink coat, the youth quickly learn that a career in the world of science does not reward one on this scale. All media of mass publicity make heroes and heroines of those who achieve the pinnacle whether they be movie stars, gangsters, athletes or corporation executives. One must be a "star" of some kind to reach the goal.

Contributions to the welfare of mankind are rewarded with very little notice in most cases and a good deal of abuse in others. High school students are encouraged by the very nature of society itself to be more aware of Mickey Mantle's batting average than the latest finding in science.

Underlying the lack of interest in science is the sure knowledge that new discoveries will be used for the private gains of huge monopoly corporations and benefits to mankind, if any, will come only as a by-product to the main goal, that is, profits. Everyone knows that the most complete monopoly in America is that held by the corporations on scientific achievements.

Even in fields where scientific advances are financed by the government, such as nuclear physics, the tendency is to turn over to private monopolies as many of the new facilities as public opinion will stand for. Anything else is branded as "creeping socialism," to be avoided at all cost.

The current campaign to make science popular with the youth cannot succeed in the atmosphere of the capitalist jungle where survival depends upon conforming to the rule of "each against all." A genuine and lasting interest in scientific work will take hold of the youth only when all the conditions of life assure them that their contribution to human knowledge will be received, not as a commodity in the market place, and surely not as a way in which to help exterminate human beings on the scale dwarfing that of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but for what it should be—the means of bringing progress to mankind.

Above all, the youth should ask themselves why scientific work in present day America has so little to offer in the field where so much is at stake, that is, in the science that deals with the relations among human beings, and why the science-mongers of the worried capitalist class put all their emphasis on the study of the physical sciences.

The youth know that in America what counts is making the fast buck and not scientific achievement. All that will change some day, but not so long as the capitalist system dominates all phases of life.

The British Electrical Union Election

By Peter Fryer
Special London Correspondent

In the past few weeks the Electrical Trades Union, the last Stalinist-controlled trade union in Britain has been subjected to a fierce attack through every medium of capitalist propaganda. The focal point of the attack is an election recently held for an important union post, in which the candidates were Les Cannon, who resigned from the Communist Party a year ago in protest at the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution, and a Stalinist candidate called Frazer. Cannon was sacked from his job as a paid official of the ETU several months earlier, allegedly on economy grounds, but in fact — so many members believed — because of his opposition to Stalinism. It was natural that much interest should center on the election, since if Cannon won he would be a constant thorn in the flesh of leaders whose methods and affairs he knew far more about than was healthy for them.

RULES MUST BE UPHELD

He did not win. Five branches where solid majorities for Cannon were a certainty had their votes disqualified. Because of the Cannon majorities? Oh no, protested the ETU leaders. Nothing of the kind. There were voting irregularities. The rules were broken. For thirty years the general secretary had been charged with examining union elections and making sure that the rules were observed. He would not have been doing his job if he had allowed the votes of these five branches to be counted.

Nasty-minded critics were not slow to point out that precisely similar irregularities in the voting had taken place in a branch in the north of England where the majority was for Frazer, but the leadership had turned a blind eye. And from the town of Reading came accounts from two neighboring branches, one pro-Cannon, the other pro-Frazer. Both had sent their voting returns in to the head office a couple of days late. **The first had received back a letter saying this breach of the rules could not possibly be overlooked, and the vote was therefore discounted; the second a letter saying there was a breach of rules, but head office found it possible to overlook it this time, only don't let it happen again on any account.**

All this of course was calculated to make a field day for the reactionary Press, which seized on such stories and ran them day after day in a crescendo of witch-hunting. A former Labor MP called Woodrow Wyatt who has won fame as a television interviewer persuaded a number of rank-and-file ETU members to appear on TV; all but one of them had their backs to the camera, and in some cases their voices were disguised; they were scared of being expelled from the union and of losing their jobs in consequence, it was said. Next day one of them accused Wyatt of sensationalizing the whole thing. He for one had never asked to be "protected" in this way, and the way the program was turned into a stunt was not his cup of tea at all, and he dissociated himself from it. Needless to say, this ordinary ETU member's protest got very little prominence in the press.

The ETU leaders' case is that Cannon would have lost even if the votes of the disqualified branches were counted. But they refuse to put the matter to the test by holding the election again.

Now all this quite clearly raises some pretty important questions of principle for militants, socialist and rank-and-file communists inside the ETU. Clearly the capitalist Press attack on their union is not motivated by pure-minded, disinterested regard for the health and strength of that union and its effectiveness in the defense of its members. It is no coincidence that this attack comes at the same time as a general offensive, in which Britain's Tory Government has joined, against the workers' living standards, wages and jobs. Already, in such organs of the British capitalist class as **The Times** and the **Economist**, the demand has been openly raised for a general inquiry into trade unions and general legislation to curb their power. **Clearly the ETU members, and other militants, must defend their union against an attack which, if successful, would be only the prelude to a more far-reaching onslaught on working-class organizations.**

LEADERS TO BLAME

Equally clearly, however, the defense of the ETU as an organization by no means implies the defense of its leaders' policies and practices. On the contrary, by acting in an undemocratic (and, it might be added, uncommunist) way these leaders are simply playing into the hands of the capitalist press and feeding them with ammunition for the attack on trade unionism. To militant electricians their employers are the main enemy — but when their leaders play into the hands of the capitalist class by misusing the rule book against critics and dissenters such as Cannon, then those who have the interests of their union at heart must come out in its defense in their own way.

The essence of the ETU leadership's action in this affair (and it is this that makes them a sitting target for red-baiting journalists) is that they are unable to answer the political criticism from the left. This of course is a reflection, in a specific form, of the crisis of British Stalinism, of its inability to cope with the truth it sought so long to hide. Against the weapon of truth ETU general secretary Frank Haxell and president Frank Foulkes can only deploy the weapon of procedure. Socialist electricians criticize them from the standpoint of principle — and they wield the rule book in reply. **This formalistic approach of a bureaucracy determined to cling on to its power and privileges even if in the process the union is harried, smashed, wrecked as an effective working-class weapon, extends now to revisions in the rules, which limit members' rights in a way that is clearly directed against the Left. For instance, members' right of appeal is limited, and circularization of other members is forbidden.**

FIGHT ON TWO FRONTS

ETU militants are now faced with the need to take the defense of their union into their own hands, and to fight on two fronts: against Fleet Street, the heart of the capitalist Press, and King Street, the heart of British Stalinism. It is a colossal task, but if not undertaken Fleet Street and King Street between them will deliver the union into the hands of the Right-wingers who are simply waiting on the sidelines. Only the militants, under Marxist leadership, can restore the confidence of ETU members in the union's leadership; restore democratic rights; end the rigging of elections and other abuses; and transform the ETU into a sound and reliable instrument of working-class advance. The militants have now launched a three-point campaign for democracy and probity inside the ETU.

Their first demand is for a national committee of inquiry, democratically elected by the rank and file of the union, to investigate its entire machinery and report back to the branches.

Secondly, the militants are demanding that the salaries of ETU officials be cut immediately to the ordinary wage of a skilled electrician, and that all expenses be cut to the necessary out-of-pocket expenses entailed in the day-to-day business of the union.

TOO CUSHY

Despite all the talk of "economy," the steady decline in the union's funds, and the steady approach of a period of probably quite intensive class struggle in Britain, many members think Foulkes and Haxell and their immediate colleagues do themselves very well in the way of expenses, big motor-cars, well-appointed offices and luxury hotel accommodations when they are out of London. There is no suggestion of financial dishonesty; the point is that leaders who style themselves communists, while clearly their efficiency would be impaired if they had money worries, ought at the same time to live modestly and soberly at the level of their own members.

WANT NEW ELECTION

Thirdly, the militants call for the election for which Cannon and Frazer were candidates to be held afresh, so that confidence in the union's electoral machinery can be restored and the attacks of the capitalist Press can be replied to in the most effective way: in democratic deeds.

This is the only principled way in which the crisis in the ETU can be solved. Any other way would lead to big setbacks. The Stalinists who screw their eyes up tight and cover their ears or who brand critics as "wreckers," "saboteurs," "capitalist agents" and so forth—just as some of them did over criticism of the Soviet and Eastern European bureaucracies—are themselves helping to drag the good name of communism and of trade unionism through the mud. **There are many rank-and-file communists in the ETU, however, who are deeply perturbed about the way their leaders are acting, and who in conversation with Marxists are being won for a joint fight to restore the union's good name, straighten out its affairs, and make it a really militant and really democratic weapon in the hands of Britain's electricians.**

...NATO VOTES TALKS WITH USSR

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Europe and throughout the world that it is Washington rather than Moscow that is pressing towards war. To counteract this feeling and thus ease the popular pressure on themselves, the European members of NATO want the U.S. to appear willing to negotiate.

During the past weeks, prominent U.S. Big Business politicians and newspapers have similarly insisted on the need for the American government to accept negotiations with the USSR. This has been a major point of emphasis in the speeches made by George F. Kennan, former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union over the British Broadcasting Company. It was also stressed by Adlai Stevenson, 1952 and 1956 Democratic Presidential candidate, in a Dec. 13 speech in Chicago, In a Dec. 9 editorial, the New York Post wrote, ". . . no matter how frustrating the process, we must always seem ready to talk."

That the European capitalists dare force onto Wall Street imperialism a tactical move serving their own interests is a reflection of the lessened awe in which it is held since the sputniks. The failure of U.S. imperialism to master the colonial revolution, which has spread from the Far East to the Middle East and North Africa, plus the revelation that it has been surpassed in military technology, has emboldened the European capitalists to demand certain revisions and adjustments in Washington's conduct of world imperialism's affairs.

The same pressure forced the U.S. to accept a compromise on the only important proposition it had to place before the conference — establishment of IRBM (intermediate range ballistic missiles) launching bases on European soil. This was finally voted with the proviso that any member nation not wanting such bases could refuse them. Since the U.S. could previously make arrangements with the countries individually for such bases — and had already done so with Great Britain — the NATO approval means little. Norway and Denmark have already strongly rejected the idea of such bases on their soil — as magnets for atomic retaliation the moment war broke out. The West German delegation has also indicated it does not want any.

The motivation, aim and dimensions of the "revolt" of the European capitalist nations against U.S. policy may be found by a careful reading of the news dispatches from Paris. Correspondent Ludwell Denny reported in the Dec. 17 New York World-Telegram: "The German government can't accept the American missile base plan now however much Chancellor Konrad Adenauer may desire. Sputnik vs. sputternik has shaken German public support for the NATO alliance. Even Prime Minister Harold Macmillan [of Great Britain] is facing opposition to the American plan from his own Tory right wing as well as from the Labor Party. He needs time to maneuver to hold his public."

'BRINK OF APPEASEMENT'

In the Dec. 19 N. Y. Herald-Tribune Roscoe Drummond reports from Paris: "This [to gain time] is why such a rocklike ally as Chancellor Konrad Adenauer wants, without surrendering any basic position of his pro-Western policy, to explore the negotiating potential of the Bulganin letters to NATO before accepting American missiles. He is not fooled by Moscow and he is not wishful. He knows that he must reshape German public opinion before he can do otherwise and he needs time to do it. In varying degrees that is true in most of the NATO countries. . . It is accurate to say that there was no appeasement sentiment at the NATO conference table. But there is a new kind of brinkmanship — a willingness to venture to the brink of appeasement in the hope that nobody will be pushed over."

Robert C. Doty, reporting the conference for the New York Times (Dec. 19), wrote: ". . . political and public opinion among member nations indicated that popular support for the decisions taken here could be obtained only if measures for the military, political and economic strengthening of the alliance were accompanied by proof that Western Allies were ready to discuss with the Soviet Union ways of easing world tension." And further, **". . . in rallying world opinion to the support of the West, the leaders of the Atlantic Pact nations must be prepared to demonstrate at every juncture that they prefer a settlement of the conflict with communism by negotiation to a continuation of the conflict."**

NATO PURPOSE

The plan to create NATO, the greatest peacetime military coalition in history, was conceived by U.S. imperialism along with the Marshall plan. Its formal founding took place in 1949. It was the center of the system of military alliances and air bases around the USSR that constituted U.S. preparation to launch an attack — "preventive war" was the nicer name — on the Soviet Union and its East European buffer states. With economic and armaments aid the capitalist nations of Western Europe were to build up big armies. The U.S. would build air bases on their territory. The NATO armies would then have the mission of defending these air bases and stopping or holding up the Red Army and its tanks while the U.S. with its air superiority atom-bombed the USSR to impotence.

But the U.S. timetable for preventive war could not be carried out even when the military preparations had all been competed. Revolution swept Asia. **The imperialists were compelled to retire or were driven outof one country after another. Worse yet China was swept by social revolution upsetting the whole balance of world power. The U.S. had to divert its main energies to trying to stop and throw back the wave of revolution in Asia. The difficulty of this task was brought home by the impossibility of winning even the war in Korea short of an all-out effort.**

In addition, the U.S. monopoly of the A-bomb, on which the preventive war policy so heavily depended, was broken. The USSR succeeded in exploding the atom long before the date U.S. military planners had assumed it could. Woe was piled upon woe in 1953 when the revolutionary army in Viet Nam triumphed in the great battle at Dienbienphu and the USSR exploded an H-bomb.

Realizing that it was definitely stalemated both by the colonial revolution, now spreading to the Middle East and North Africa, and by Soviet technological development, U.S. imperialism had to tear up its much revised timetable for the war to crush the USSR. This was not an abandonment of the perspective of war but recognition that the relation of forces made it too deadly a risk while the stalemate lasted.

GENEVA SMILES

Under U.S. direction the cold war began to cool off some. The war in Indo-China was settled at Geneva by a territorial compromise. Similarly with the war in Korea. In 1954, taking advantage of the Kremlin's repeated proposals for a co-existence deal, Eisenhower attended a "summit" conference in Geneva with the Soviet tops. Nothing tangible resulted, but Eisenhower emerged in the public's eyes more than ever a "man of peace." Why didn't even the Soviet leaders and the Communist newspapers throughout the world testify to the goodness and peaceful intentions of this general and head of the greatest war machine on earth?

U.S. imperialism's policy has marked contradictions. It does not give up the aim of eventual war against the Soviet bloc. Consequently it must maintain and continually expand its war machine and that of its allies despite the risks this entails. On the other hand, realizing that for an indefinite period circumstances are unfavorable for launching its war, it is not unwilling to improve its position by negotiations with its enemy and by propaganda and diplomatic maneuvers to persuade the world's peoples that it is peace-loving.

But it doesn't want to start a peace fever among its allies leading them to dismantle the war machines so painstakingly built up. More important is that it does not wish to undo the war-psychologizing of the American people — the result of ten years' assiduous political and propaganda labor, which has made possible the maintenance of the witch hunt so useful in keeping labor politically impotent and economically docile. **Finally, the need to prop up the crisis-ridden capitalist economy with arms spending adds to Washington's reluctance to strike a consistent peace posture such as at the 1955 Geneva Conference.**

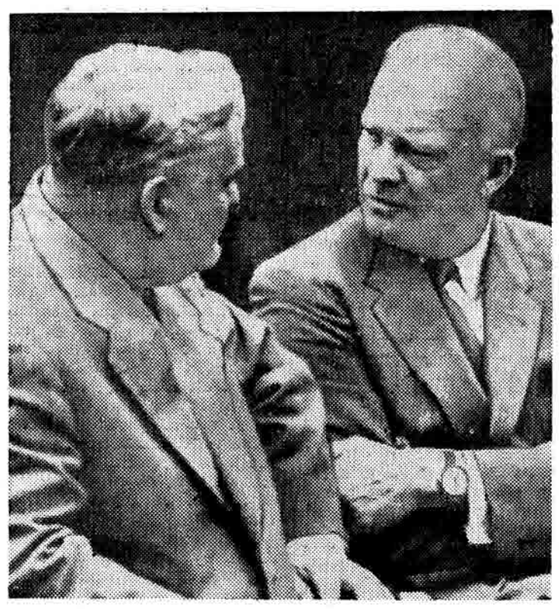
The reaction of the NATO allies to sputnik is to demand that the U.S. put on a renewed show of negotiation with the USSR. Certainly the common people of the globe will welcome any tangible lessening of the war danger coming out of such negotiations — for example, the ending of the nuclear testing that poisons the atmosphere.

SOURCE OF WAR DRIVE

An overall diplomatic agreement between the USSR and the U.S. for an end to the cold war would be desirable for the Soviet bloc countries, since their systems require no wars, and for the working people of the world. It cold be desirable to the imperialist governments only for a limited time at the very best. No "sacred" treaty will prevent imperialism from launching war when the circumstances become favorable — or even, if desperate enough, while they are still unfavorable — for the very workings of the economic system of capitalism impels it to war. **Consequently, while the Soviet leaders, who pretend to be Marxists, are perfectly justified in an agreement with imperialism that would slow the latter's war drive, they have no justification for telling the world's masses that if the imperialists do sign a co-existence treaty the danger of war will have been permanently ended. That will have been ended only when capitalism has been ended.**

But such disorientation of the world's masses does not deter the Kremlin's propagandists, for included in their proffered co-existence deal to imperialism is much more — something that workers who think co-existence simply means peace do not even suspect. That is an offer by the Kremlin to use the Communist Parties throughout the world to protect the status quo in the capitalist countries and their colonies. This means offering the capitalists a force within the working class to smother the class struggle, and where it nevertheless broke out, to divert it into channels safe for capitalism. **Such triumphs over the working class and the colonial peoples would embolden American imperialism to speed-up its war drive all over again.**

Will They Meet Again?



President Eisenhower (right) and Soviet Premier Bulganin at the Geneva conference in July 1955. At that time world pressure against the mounting war drive compelled the U.S. to put on a show of negotiating the issues of the cold war. Since the launching of Sputnik numerous figures in top U.S. circles are proposing a renewal of the posture of negotiations.

A. J. Muste Speaks at N.Y. Forum

NEW YORK, Dec. 15 — **A. J. Muste, chairman of the American Forum-For Socialist Education, was the guest speaker tonight at the Militant Labor Forum. His subject was "Radical Parties and Socialist Regroupment."**

The meeting opened on an extremely moving note. Muste was introduced by Militant staff writer Art Preis, who began his activity in the union movement in the 1930's as a member of the Conference for Progressive Labor Action which was led by Muste. Recalling the dramatic mass struggles of the Ohio unemployed of the early 1930's and the historic Toledo auto workers strike battles of the same period, Preis paid eloquent tribute to Muste's contributions to the leadership of these struggles as well as his contributions to the education of many young militant socialists of the time.

MAIN PROBLEM

In his presentation, Muste said the central problem confronting the radical movement is its almost total isolation from the labor movement and population generally. He felt that of the various groupings the radical pacifists had the greatest degree of influence, but the problem of isolation was common to all the groups and due primarily to the objective situation in the country. He held that the development of a program to cope with the problems posed by capitalism in the age of automation and atomic energy was the radical movement's basic need today.

To advance the discussion of such a program, he said, the various groupings must take a flexible attitude including a willingness to recognize past errors in their thinking. **He felt this was particularly important for the Socialist Workers Party, because it had been proven right on many questions. This, he said, might tend to lead it to feel that it had been correct on all questions.**

Discussing the progress of the American Forum, he said it had met initial difficulty in organizing discussions that came to full grip with the issues at hand, but that future discussions would provide a more effective confrontation of differing views.

He declared that the basic problem was to build effective opposition to American capitalism and militarism, and that an indispensable corollary to this was support to the anti-Stalinist movement of the workers in the Soviet sphere.

Following the speech, the well-attended meeting engaged in a lengthy discussion that showed a deep interest in the problem of socialist regroupment.

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The Source of War Today

In a column in the Dec. 15 New York Times, James Reston, head of that paper's Washington bureau provides an unintended but damning indictment of capitalism as the source of war in our epoch.

He is arguing against the notion that "localized" wars must inevitably become generalized wars and in the course of his argument cites the following record:

"Since 1896, the peoples of the world have scarcely known a single year without some kind of armed conflict."

In addition to two world wars, "The melancholy catalogue includes the Boer War of 1899-1902; the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-5; the two bloody Balkan Wars of 1912-13; to say nothing of the Spanish-American War, the Korean War and the innumerable wars, revolts and massacres in Finland, the Caucasus, the Ukraine, Poland, Hungary, Manchuria, Siberia, the Philippines, Armenia, Bolivia, Paraguay and a lot more."

What is the common denominator in this grisly catalogue? Almost every case cited was the product either of inter-imperialist rivalries or of the bloody repression of subject peoples by imperialist powers. The localized wars, it should be noted, were either the prelude to or became part of the two global imperialist conflicts.

Again Reston marshals the facts of the indictment: "There have been 16 localized wars since the end of the last World War, including Korea, Indo-China and Suez. Israel and the Arab states have been in a state of war for a decade. Most of France's army is tied down today in a limited war in North Africa."

These too have been brought on by Western imperialism in its war against the national independence struggles of the colonial peoples.

Reston completes the record by detailing some of the heroic armed struggles that oppressed workers and subjugated peoples have waged against oppressors who gave them no other way to win emancipation.

He writes: "In this time [since 1896] armed rebellion has swept over Paris, Berlin, Madrid, Athens, Rome, and long revolutionary struggles have taken place in Russia, Mexico, Spain, France, Germany, India, Egypt, Palestine, Mongolia, China, Hungary, Austria, Greece, Korea and Indo-China.

Who were these oppressors? Once more, in the overwhelming number of cases they were the ruling class in the major capitalist countries of the world.

Reston's thesis that there is no point in trying to stop wars and that the only realistic thing to do is to keep them "localized" is false and reactionary.

But the one stark fact that does emerge from his pen is this: **There is no peace under capitalism. War will be abolished for good only when capitalism itself is abolished.**

A Study of Youth and Crime

YOUTH AND CRIME, Proceedings of the Law Enforcement Institute held at New York University, edited by Frank J. Cohen International Universities Press Inc. New York, N. Y. 1957, 273 pp. $6.

Books based on the proceedings of an institute or conference are always confusing. There are twenty-five articles in Youth and Crime by various "specialists" including New York state and city officials — judges, probation officers, directors of youth programs — as well as psychiatrists and professors. Whatever the merits of the individual presentations, they certainly do not add up to any constructive or even comprehensible program to combat juvenile crime. They range from platitudes about strengthening the family and remembering religion to serious research reports like that of Lauretta Bender, Bellevue psychiatrist, on "What Are the Influential Factors that Predispose the Youth of Our Society to Delinquency and Crime?"

The various points of view not only contradict each other regarding cause and cure, but they can't even agree on whether or not there is a rise in juvenile crime. Several experts argue that the apparent rise is due largely to new methods of compiling statistics and changing procedures on the part of police and courts. Lauretta Bender, for example, questions the validity of recent statistics and claims that the rise of juvenile crime began about a hundred years ago in Western Europe and the United States, which would indicate (although she doesn't mention this) that it is related to the rise of industrial capitalism.

LEGAL ASPECTS

In spite of the contradictory character of the material, there is a great deal of valuable information in the book. Paul Tappan, professor of sociology at New York University, discusses the legal aspects of delinquency and reveals the extent to which young people in our Children's Courts are being deprived of their constitutional right to due process — the right to a clear and definite charge, to counsel, to confrontation, and to relevant proof — on the ground that proceedings in these courts are not "criminal" but are designed to give guidance and help to children in trouble.

In the Adolescent Courts in New York a youth who is considered "disobedient and in danger of becoming morally depraved" may be committed and sentenced up to three years, although he is technically not a criminal. (The judge is sending him to reform school to help him. That makes it O.K.) **In another article, the Chiefy Magistrate of one of these courts, John Murtagh, proudly confirms this when he points out that "any youth under twenty-one years of age may be put under the guidance and authority of the court before he has committed a crime if he is showing delinquent tendencies."**

ENVIRONMENT

Ralph Whelan, Director of the New York Youth Board, gives an honest picture of the environment in which delinquency breeds and of the so-called "hard core" families: "These groups are found in the most deteriorated sections of our large cities. They live in overcrowded, rat-infested dwellings where every room is a bedroom. They attend old schools with outmoded equipment where frequently, instead of the normal school day, there are two or three abbreviated shifts. . . There have been instances of families who have never been able to eat together because there are only one or two plates, no chair or table to accommodate the family."

Explaining that children are often truant because they are embarrassed to appear without suitable clothing, he says: "For some children it is unknown to have a new dress or suit or to have ever owned one."

GENERAL CAUSE

But it is Harry Shulman, a professor at City College and a Commissioner in the Department of Correction, who makes the most enlightening contribution. He does not deal with juvenile crime as an isolated phenomenon but discusses the general causes of all crime. He compares the security of the primitive community which is "a brotherhood bound tightly together against its external enemies" where "the products of industry are either shared or available in times of tribal need" with modern industrial society in which "the hazards of illness, unemployment and old age infirmity become primarily a personal responsibility."

He analyzes, on the one hand, the development of "predatory" crime, (that is, crime handled mainly by the police and courts) in the slums of our large cities and on the other, "the crimes of the rich and powerful" — restraints of trade and monopoly, fraudulent advertising and misrepresentation, bribery of corporation and public officials — and concludes that crime is an aspect of the total functional operation of urban industrial society, "the price we pay for our society of free enterprise." There is no cure for crime as such "only the possibility of containing its bounds through maintaining an equilibrium among the competing forces in a democratic society."

This leads, of course, to a pessimistic view of various measures for combating crime. On broad programs for social reform and social welfare which would eliminate the worst aspects of poverty, he says: "Whether such a comprehensive effort to undo the effects of urban industrialism can ever be initiated, and at what cost, remains a matter for conjecture." The police approach, too, has obvious limitations "against syndicated and organized crime that has its immunities and protection from the same political machines that dictate and influence the appointment of judges, prosecutors and municipal commissioners." He also sees little hope in psychoanalytic or psychological methods and concludes that "the problems are vaster than the solutions available."

THE CLEAR ONES

If Professor Shulman is correct, neither juvenile nor adult crime can be considered — as it so frequently is — a form of emotional illness or a personal failure to "adjust." The delinquent is attempting to adjust to prevalent behavior problems in a society where aggression and violence are quite normal. Clever delinquents — or lucky ones — never wind up in jail. They become successful racketeers, businessmen, politicians or labor bureaucrats.

The professor does not offer any alternative, he does not suggest that we can again achieve, on a much higher level that modern technology makes possible, the brotherhood of the primitive community. I didn't expect him to say this in a book devoted to the problems of law enforcement under capitalism. **I'll settle for the fact that his analysis leads to one logical conclusion — that the real solution to crime is the socialist reconstruction of society.**

— Joyce Cowley

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Algerian Nationalism Divided – II

The Politics of Assassination

By Philip Magri

(Second article of a series)

The Algerian revolution broke out on Nov. 1 1954, at a moment when French imperialism was beset by violent struggle for independence in Tunisia and Morocco.

The revolution had been prepared politically by the victory of the revolutionary wing of the party of Algerian nationalism over the reformist "Centralist" tendency. The majority, led by Messali Hadj, began its preparations for armed insurrection immediately upon winning control of the party. The insurrection was to take place at the start of 1955.

THIRD GROUP

Meanwhile, a third group had been formed within the nationalist party—the "Revolutionary Committee for Unity of Action" (CRUA). Its leaders rejected the reformism of the "Centralists," but they also were impatient with the careful political preparations of the Messalists, and had little use for Messali's guiding principle of solidarity with the French working class. **Instead, they sought outside political and material support from the Nasser regime in Egypt, and sought to impose themselves as the leaders of the coming Algerian revolution by unleashing an action by a small group of men before the Messalists had completed their preparations for a mass uprising.**

Immediately after Nov. 1, the Messalists (who now took the name "Algerian National Movement" since the MTLD had been dissolved by the French government) took up arms, even though the movement had been initiated prematurely, and without their knowledge.

During the first year, the MNA consistently sought to establish unity among all tendencies of Algerian nationalism in the common struggle against the French. At the beginning of 1955, therefore, the National Liberation Front was established in Cairo. In its original form, the FLN was a loose alliance of autonomous groups—the MNA, the former MTLD Central Committee, and the CRUA. However, during 1955 this initial unity was irrevocably disrupted by the demand of the non-Messalist members that all Algerian organizations should dissolve and subordinate their members to the FLN, which in turn would be controlled by the Nasser government.

Because the MNA could not accept this demand, it was expelled from the "Front." The MNA representatives in Cairo, Mezerna and Mekki, were arrested by Nasser (without charges) and are apparently still in prison.

RIGHT-WING RALLIES TO MNA

After its definitive break with the MNA, the FLN became a pole of attraction for all the Right-Wing forces in the Algerian camp. In April 1956, Ferhat Abbas went to Cairo (quite "legally," and with a French passport) and immediately assumed a leading position in the FLN. He was followed closely by the leading representatives of the conservative "Ulemas." And finally, the leading "Beni-Oui-Ouis" (yes-men to the French) in Algeria who had always opposed Algerian independence (like Abderrahmane Fares, handpicked President of the French puppet "Algerian Assembly") took French planes to Cairo where they declared their support for the FLN and the Algerian Revolution.

A further transformation in the political character of the FLN took place in October 1956, when the French kidnapped five FLN leaders while they were flying from Tunisia to Morocco. These leaders, notably Khidder and Ben Bella, represented the extreme left wing of the FLN: they had been leaders of the CRUA and had the closest ties to Nasser. After their forceable removal, leadership of the FLN rested in the hands of the former "Centralists" (Yazid, Kiouane) and of the outright reformists (Ferhat Abbas, Debaghine), men who relied more strongly on the aid of the Tunisian and Moroccan capitalist classes and on the sympathy of "enlightened" French colonialism, and conversely had less dependence on Nasser.

In early 1956 the split between MNA and FLN was supplemented by a split in the trade-union organization of Algerian workers. Before 1956 Algerian workers had not had their own unions, but had belonged to French unions, mainly the Stalinist-led CGT. At the beginning of February 1956, the "Algerian Workers Trade Union" (USTA) was established as a single unified Algerian union movement.

At the outset both nationalist tendencies participated in the USTA, and the Tunisian trade unions had aided in its formation. Because of later developments it is extremely important that this fact be clearly established. The French weekly paper, France Observateur, favors the FLN against the MNA and has excellent sources of information among the FLN leaders. On Feb. 23, 1956, France Observateur reported: "A 'nationalist' union movement has now been created. This movement has taken the name of 'Algerian Workers' Trade Union' (USTA) . . . it seems that the general secretary of the UGTT (Tunisian labor federation) Ahmed Ben Salah, played a considerable role, last December, in the establishment of the Algerian provisional organization.

"The two nationalist tendencies, the Liberation Front and the Algerian National Movement, already claim the entire responsibility for this initiative and dispute for leadership."

It quickly became clear to the FLN leaders that they could not get control of a unified democratic Algerian workers' organization. They therefore established a rival movement, the General Union of Algerian Workers (UGTA).

Initially the UGTA benefited from the aid of the French administration in Algiers which directed its main repression against the Messalist USTA and even turned over the former offices of the MTLD in Algiers to the UGTA. However, after a few months the French also suppressed the UGTA. Today no Algerian unions are tolerated in Algeria, and the leaders of both groups are in concentration camps.

THE USTA IN FRANCE

Meanwhile, the USTA started to organize the Algerian workers in France, and quickly succeeded in becoming an authentic mass organization. In June 1957 the Federation in France of the USTA held a congress at which there were 324 delegates representing more than 70,000 workers.

The FLN leaders resorted to all possible means, including murder and stooling for the French police, to smash the USTA.

At the same time, the Stalinist leaders of the French Confederation of Labor (CGT) launched a similarly vicious attack on the USTA. Thus, on Feb. 1, 1956, the CGT local in Hagondage published a leaflet in which it named the USTA leaders for the benefit of the police: "We denounce these; Boudjani, Djaborebli, Abdel Malek and Hamdaoui and other divisionists, who want to divide you by founding a USTA union."

ASSASSINATIONS

The most important method of the FLN has been the assassination of MNA and USTA members and leaders. At the end of April 1957, the French police in the city of Lyons raided a garage rented by an Algerian member of the executive committee of the local CGT, who was also a leader of the FLN. In this garage was found an arsenal of 40 machine guns, 100 grenades, and 100 automatic pistols — obviously destined to be served in the "settling of accounts" against the MNA.

The murder campaign against the MNA-USTA reached a peak in September and October of this year. Ahmed Semmache, Mellouli Said, Hocine Maroc, important secondary leaders of the USTA were assassinated within the space of four days. Then in October came the most grievous blows. **First Abdallah Filali, Assistant Secretary General of the USTA, a veteran of 25 years of untiring struggles for Algerian freedom and of innumerable prison sentences, was mortally wounded (he died in late November, after an agony of 48 days). And then one of the most important young leaders of Algerian nationalism, Ahmed Bekhat, Secretary General of the USTA, was lured into a trap and murdered.**

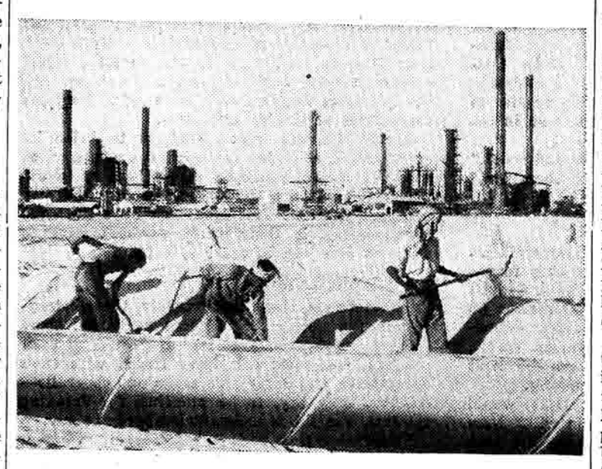
The responsibility for these crimes has been assumed openly by the FLN. In an official communique the FLN stated: "The counter-revolutionary MNA . . . has imposed on us, despite all our efforts, a violent struggle an armed struggle. It is in the process of dying from it. . ."

What more need be said to characterize a political movement than that its preferred method of political discussion is the assassin's bullet?

In response to this wave of crimes on French soil, the ever-vigilant French police has pursued a policy of vigorous repression — against the USTA! Within a week after the murder of Bekhat his provisional successor as General Secretary, Abderrahmane Bensid, was arrested by the police on a trumped-up charge. Nothing apparent has been done either to prevent or apprehend the murderers.

(Next Week: Political Divisions and Prospectives of the Algerian Revolution.)

Arab Oil Workers



Highly exploited Arab workers on a Standard Oil Company pipe line in Saudi Arabia. Middle East oil is a prime source of imperialist rivalries. The cooling of U.S. enthusiasm for the French colonial war against the Algerian people also coincides with reports of newly-discovered rich oil deposits in Algeria.

How the Canadian Foreign Minister Got Seated

Canadian politics were considerably enlivened last month by the campaign of the Socialist Educational League candidate Ross Dowson against Sidney Smith, the new Tory Minister of Foreign Affairs.

To be a member of the cabinet in Canada one must be a member of parliament. This makes necessary a system of "safe" seats so that when the government appoints to the cabinet someone not in parliament, that minor technicality can be taken care of by the mere formality of running him in a special election in a district where the outcome is a foregone conclusion.

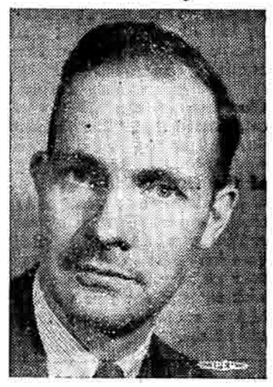
Thus when the Diefenbaker government recently appointed Sidney Smith, longtime, behind-the-scenes strategist Minister of External Affairs, it ordered the member of the House of Commons from the Hastings-Frontenac riding (district) to resign so that Smith could take his seat in that 99 44/100 per cent pure Tory district.

A FORMALITY

This seat was so safe that the Tories felt there was no point in even having an election. Smith should be "elected" by acclamation — that is he should be the only candidate to file. In this way there would be no bother about speeches or voting and he could take his seat immediately instead of waiting the 28 days after election prescribed by law.

To "elect" Smith by acclamation it was necessary to make a deal with the other Canadian parties whereby they would not nominate any rival candidates. Disspirited by the Tory sweep in the last summer's federal elections, and for considerations unknown, all the other parties —Liberal, Social-Credit and Canadian Commonwealth Federation (the party supported by the AFL-CIO) agreed not to run anybody against the Tory nominee.

Imagine then the howl of rage that went up from the Tory press when on the last day the Socialist Educational League filed nomination papers in the Hastings-Frontenac district for Ross Dowson, editor of the Workers' Vanguard. "Dowson To Run Robbing Smith of Acclamation," cried the headline in the Toronto Globe and Mail.



ROSS DOWSON

The small Socialist Educational League (SEL) had no illusions about the district in which it decided to campaign. It is almost exclusively rural and conservative and has been periodically gerrymandered to keep it so. It is a map makers' nightmare—huge with twisting and turning boundaries and a hole in its center to eliminate Tweed (population 1,655) as too urban. The CCF, the party of the AFL-CIO, does not even have an organization in the district. For the last three federal elections no tendency in the labor movement has even tried to run candidates there.

For the SEL to run a candidate there may be compared in this country to running a socialist candidate for Congress in the most rock-ribbed sections of Republican Vermont.

Members and sympathizers of the SEL carried on a pioneer campaign in Hastings-Frontenac under the slogan of peace and socialism. Some 12,000 copies of the election leaflets were distributed and several thousand socialist anti-war posters dotted the wide-open spaces. Canvassing was carried on in the main towns and villages. Such a stir was caused by the socialist campaign that the Tories were galvanized into action. They sent out several blanket mailings to voters. They brought their candidate (who hadn't even bothered to attend his own nomination meeting) into the district for several speeches, as well as Minister of Labor Starr and Minister of Transport Hees.

RESPECT DOWSON

Indicative of the national interest in the campaign was the Oct. 22 editorial in The Varsity, student newspaper of the University of Toronto, of which institution Smith was president before his entry into the employ of the Tory government. The editorial was entitled "The Lamb to Slaughter," because, as it pointed out, "Hastings is an arch-conservative riding and has been so ever since it was formed." Of Dowson, the editors wrote: **"He is intelligent and has forceful views. He once polled 25,000 votes in a Toronto mayoralty race. We respect his ideas and support many of them. He proposes recognition of Communist China in the United Nations, an obvious move which should have been made several years ago. He favors diverting of defense expenses to give Canada national health service and free university tuition. He wants the government to ease regulations governing labor unions. He says the government should urge abolition of H-Bomb tests and withdraw its troops from Germany."**

"The Conservative government and Dr. Smith oppose these proposals. Yet the new external affairs minister has remained remarkably quiet on issues of policy since assuming office. Although we respect Dr. Smith, we feel it is time he came out and defended his views on foreign policy. . . . If Dr. Smith and the Canadian people take Mr. Dowson's challenge seriously, the ex-president's [of the university] views on foreign policy would be made explicit. He would benefit by stating them and the Canadian people would benefit by knowing them."

CCF LEADERS AID IN RED-BAITING

But instead of taking up this challenge to debate Dowson or the issues he raised, the Tories devoted themselves to a red-baiting campaign. In this they were aided by the right-wing leaders of the CCF, who were infuriated by the SEL's underlining of their failure to provide an alternative to Toryism in the by-election.

Early in the campaign, M. J. Coldwell, national head of the CCF, in a letter to a newspaper in the district warned the "unsuspecting voter"—not against the Tory Smith—but against the socialist Dowson, whom he slanderously declared favored "world dictatorship."

The barrage of red-baiting from the Tories and the CCF right-wing leadership included such charges as force and violence, dictatorship, being financed by foreign gold (from the U.S. of all places) and, of course, Communist. As the public became more and more aware of Dowson's long public record as a Trotskyist, the formula was amended to "the most extreme form of communist."

There is no doubt that the red-baiting had its effect. Many Hastings-Frontenac children, for example, were deeply disappointed when they finally saw Dowson to discover that he didn't really have horns. Some adults undoubtedly feared an iron curtain would come rattling down over Hastings-Frontenac if somehow Dowson won. The CCF bureaucracy's red-baiting probably affected those few workers who live in the district. In the actual polling the SEL received but 266 votes or 2½% of the total. For purposes of comparison, however, it must be recalled that in 1949 the last time the CCF itself ran in this district (in a period when the Tory wave had not reached its present height and in an election in which there was a bigger vote) it polled only 732 votes.

EARN VOTES

Dowson and all the others who participated in the campaign feel quite pleased with the results including the vote. They consider these as really "earned" votes. Each one was like pulling teeth. Beside the ground-breaking socialist education accomplished in this rural district (and beside the miles upon miles of beautiful countryside seen by the socialist campaigners, most of whom are from big industrial cities), the campaign succeeded to some extent in drawing the attention of workers throughout Canada to the momentous issues of foreign policy. **Finally, the shameful action of the CCF leaders in intervening in the by-election to attack the socialist candidate and back the Big Business candidate cannot but have a salutary effect in opening the eyes of the rank and file of a party, which calls itself labor and socialist, to the need for a housecleaning at the top.**

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THE MILITANT

VOLUME XXI — MONDAY, DEC. 23, 1957 — NUMBER 51

"This Man Owns No Suit"

(The following letter, signed "Mrs. IND," was printed in the December 16 New York Post. The IND is one of the three subway systems in New York City, and the one most affected by the recent motormen's strike. The "TA" referred to is the Transit Authority, a government body that owns and operates the subway. — Ed.)

From smug lady commentators on the radio to the editorial pages, I have read and heard scathing attacks upon the MBA [Motormen's Benevolent Association] leaders and their misguided followers. My husband is no motorman; he is a conductor, but the vilification applies to him too, because he rides behind the man in the cab.

"Public good will," "defiers of law and order," "throw the book at them," "throw them out," they say.

OWNS NO SUIT

But this is my husband, father of my children. The man who turns his pay-check over to me and says, "Who is pressing us this week — let's pay them — then we eat." This man owns no suit. He gets no uniform allowance and second-hand pea jackets are not so warm in trains, where he is not allowed to turn on the heat unless the temperature is below freezing.

The public, were it not for the strike, would hold him in all "esteem" and "good will." Now they scold him because he must keep the heat off. They believe he is at fault.

Public good will does nothing for my husband when he goes down the line racked with aches and fevers, because if he took that first sick day off, he would not get paid.

Some people's children get toys for Christmas. Mine, courtesy of the TA, get Mike Quill — that is, if their father is working — courtesy of the TA.

I don't know how other people live. I don't see other people. I can't feed my children and buy clothes to go out in.I cannot manage. I guess I am a failure. We have not been out in years; we entertain not, yet I can't keep my children in shoes, gloves, overshoes and all the fresh whole milk they would like to drink. From $57 to $67 a week, his pay fluctuates without overtime. It would do the people who have the public good at heart a world of good to see grown men beg for extra work on their days off to keep one step ahead of the bill collectors.

If the TA can spend $150,000 to bribe its underpaid, debt-ridden (except those whose wives work; I don't) employes to go back to work, why doesn't it use that money to pay the men a decent wage so that men who have the lives of thousands in their hands wouldn't have to work at two jobs in order to exist.

TA ABOVE LAW

These fiends, these law-breakers, these betrayers of the public trust. These husbands, these fathers, these defiers of law and order in their patched, half-soled but shiny shoes, with their old patched and shiny blue serge and coveralls— deserve, they say, to be punished for breaking the law. The TA is lucky. It is above the law.

There were laws back in 1775 too. But whether they were just or not depended on whether you were Tory or Rebel.

As for Mike Quill, he ought to take his talents elsewhere, perhaps to the missile launching base in Florida. One of his speeches and that little moon would have an orbit around Proxima Centauri.

Two Denver Groups Hear SWP Views

DENVER, Dec. 5 — Two very succesful meetings took place here yesterday. Theodore Edwards, Socialist Workers Party Educational Director for Southern California, replaced Murry Weiss, when the latter became ill and was unable to keep his scheduled speaking engagements in Denver. In the afternoon, close to 70 students heard Edwards present the SWP views on "The Role and Need for a Third Party in American Politics." This meeting was held on the campus of Colorado University at Boulder, and was sponsored by the "Inquirers," a new student group organized on campus with the purpose of presenting controversial speakers to the student body. The student audience asked many questions about socialism and the role of revolutionary socialists in the coming struggles predicted by the speaker.

Wednesday evening, the Denver Labor Alliance, a new discussion group organized for presenting and discussing all views within the labor movement, heard Edwards speak on "What Road to Peace." In the audience were local Smith Act defendants and others who welcomed support of their civil liberties extended by the speaker. The differing points of view of the Communist Party and of the SWP on "peaceful coexistence" were discussed in a comradely atmosphere.

As a result of the meetings a number of people sympathetic to the Socialist Workers Party and to its advocacy of independent working class political action pledged to put the SWP national candidates on the ballot in Colorado in the next elections.

Buffalo Meeting Discusses Sputnik

BUFFALO, Dec. 9 — "The Rise of Sputnik and the Fall of the Stock Market" was the subject of a meeting held at the Militant Forum, Sunday evening, Dec. 8. The Courier Express and the Buffalo Evening News both estimated attendance at about 75 persons, in their coverage of the meeting.

Murry Weiss, associate editor of the Militant, was originally scheduled as speaker, but illness prevented him from coming to Buffalo. The meeting was addressed by Samuel Ballan, Erie County Chairman of the SWP who emphasized that, "The planned economy of the Soviet Union made possible its launching of the first satellite and demonstrates its superiority over the profit system of the capitalist world." A spirited question session lasted for over an hour. A telegram was sent to Murry Weiss wishing him a speedy recovery from his illness.

Hold Philadelphia Smith-Act Meting

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 6 — The outright acquittal by the U.S. Court of Appeals of four of the nine Philadelphia Smith Act defendants and the setting aside of the conviction of the other five was celebrated at a gathering here tonight of 125 fighters for civil liberties. Last month freedom was won by Ben Weiss, Sherman Labovits, Irwin Katz and Walter Lowenfels. The government must now decide if it is to attempt a retrial of Dave Davis, Thomas Nabried, Joseph Roberts, Joseph Kuzman and Robert Klonsky. Speakers at the meeting were Steve Nelson, recently freed in the Pittsburgh Smith Act case; Rev. Father Kenneth Ripley Forbes; Sol Rothenberg, recently subpoenaed by the Eastland committee and Ben Weiss.

Jack Zucker, prominent in the work of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee here, presided at the gathering. In opening the meeting he read a greeting from the Philadelphia Socialist Workers Party, hailing the victory and calling for release of those still imprisoned under the act.

The tenor of the speeches was expressed in the declaration by Ben Weiss that "We four are going to keep fighting . . . to make the government dismiss the indictment against the five who are still hostages of the cold war that hasn't ended.

Quill Strikes Militant Pose

Transport Workers President Quill at a rally of striking bus drivers in 1953. The vacant "reserved" seat was for Mayor Impellitteri who was bucking the strike. During the recent motormen's strike Quill emerged as a close supporter of strike-breaking Mayor Wagner.

. . . N.Y. Subway Workers

(Continued from page 1)

stay on the job around the clock. Beds and meals were provided and a 25% bonus plus overtime paid. Non-striking motormen were thus able to make almost $100 per day. Pay checks for past work were withheld from the strikers.

WIN SYMPATHY

In the face of all this, at least half the motormen stayed out the full time and a solid majority struck for the first few days. They won the sympathy of the city's working class.

The motormen finally settled for a promise of "no summary reprisals." and release of their jailed leaders. In addition, Louis Waldman, the MBA lawyer presented to the meeting which voted the strike's end, a promise from Republican state legislators. The lawmakers will push a bill transferring authority to determine bargaining units from the Transit Authority to a state agency. Waldman, an ex-member of the Social Democratic Federation, is said to have Republican political connections.

But the subway workers will get no more from deals with the Republicans than they got from Quill's deals with the Democrats. The strength of their struggle was in its mass action by the rank-and-file independent of any deals with capitalist politicians.

Their weakness was that the demand for craft recognition limited the strike to a section of the subway workers. Although they gained the sympathy of the overwhelming majority, they could not involve them in direct action with the craft demand. The problem now is to take advantage of the consciousness of rank-and-file strength that the strike has generated to build a militant, democratic opposition within the ranks of the TWU. Then Quill's machine can be defeated and the subway workers will control a union powerful enough to win them substantial gains. The very existence of strong, industrial unionism in all of New York City's transit depends upon a militant opposition within the TWU.

PROSPECTS GOOD

The prospects for such a development have never been better. Quill is discredited even among his Tammany pals. The Dec. 13 N. Y. World Telegram quotes "one of the most powerful figures in state and city politics" as saying: "Mike was in good shape as long as he promised the subways would keep running. But he couldn't deliver."

And as far as a great many subway workers are concerned, they hate Quill's dictatorship and his sellouts, which are rendered all the more odious to them by his fake talk of fighting the bosses.

At one of the recent jam-packed MBA strike meetings, a motorman brought down the house with an imitation of the high-pitched bluster of Michael J. Quill. Even the reporters present doubled up with laughter.

The same afternoon, across town, Quill himself was speaking to a group of his henchmen gathered in front of a hall which had been rented for a meeting by some TWU bus drivers not connected with the subway system. The drivers wanted to discuss their own contract negotiations. **They had not been able to do so at their regular local meeting, they said, because they couldn't get the floor. The "unofficial" meeting had been called off at the last moment for fear of violence on the part of Quill's men, but a false rumor had spread that the drivers might strike the buses the following morning.**

THREATENS VIOLENCE

"If they stop one bus," said Quill to his henchmen, "give 'em the works." One of Quill's "organizers" in the crowd caught hold of a bus driver who had come to discuss the contract. "Of course you couldn't talk at the local meeting," he said. "It was too noisy. There's too much democracy around. People are taking advantage of it." The bus driver shrugged loose and walked away in silence. But across town, the motormen laughed at Quill.

The next day, the last day of the strike, the subway representation election was held. Last time, in 1954, the TWU got 25,108 votes out of 29,017 cast. This time almost half the workers answered the MBA's call to boycott the election. The TWU got only 10,000 of the 15,000 votes cast. **The remaining voters chose one of the smaller unions or voided their ballots with penciled remarks such as: "To Hell with Quill." "Anything but Quill." "TWU without Quill.'**

Bakery Workers Wage Fight to Build Democratic Union

By Fred Halstead

One of the developents of the AFL-CIO convention in Atlantic City Dec. 5-12 was the chartering of a rival union to the expelled Bakery and Confectionery Workers.

Formation of the new union, the American Bakery and Confectionery Workers (ABC) was supported by 275 members of the old union who were delegated to attend the convention as "guests" by locals which opposed the intrenched machine of the union's president, James Cross.

MEANY

The opposition had united around the "Integrity Committee," consisting of four members of the union's executive board who broke with Cross after he was directed to resign by the AFL-CIO because he had been exposed before the McClellan committee. The 275 "guest" delegates said they represented 109 locals with about half the union's membership of 125,000.

The leaders of the "Integrity Committee," who now hold the ABC charter, confined themselves to pledges to obey AFL-CIO directives. "We don't know anything about changes," said one of them. "We just want to change the administration, clean it up. We haven't any more plans beyond that."

SEE PLENTY TO CHANGE

Many of the 275 "guests," however, are local leaders or workers from the shops who are fighting to extend union democracy. A working baker from local 165 in Patterson, New Jersey said: "If you are a pet of Cross', if you back his boys, you get help, if you don't, you don't get anything. We were on a four-month strike and we asked for help and were ignored completely."

Another said: "We've had Cross' number for a long time. We are going to change things so the international executive board doesn't have the power they now have. We want to participate in negotiations so we don't get sold out."

"We are going to make some changes in the constitution," said a member of New York City local 50, "to give more autonomy to the local unions, more control over local contracts and negotiations." "It's a real rank-and-file movement in our shop," said another baker, "we are financing ourselves by voluntary donations of $1 from almost every member in the plant."

Beside the Bakers, the convention expelled the 1.3 million-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters and the 70,000 member Laundry Workers Union. AFL-CIO officials said there was no plan for a rival to the Teamsters and that laundry locals that wanted to break with the expelled union could apply for direct affiliation charters. The Distillery Workers Union was continued on "proba-tion," and the Textile Workers Union and the Allied Industrial Workers were removed from suspension after accepting AFL-CIO directives to oust a few top leaders and accept monitorship by the AFL-CIO Executive Council.

Cooperation with the McClellan committee was the real keynote of the convention with economic questions pushed to the background. The convention went on record in favor of bargaining demands for higher wages and shorter hours, but failed to make preparations for or to seriously discuss the fight which will be necessary to win such demands.

A resolution was passed pledging "full cooperation with all proper investigations" by government committees. It was qualified by an expression of "deep concern that the Senate Select Committee [McClellan's] may allow itself to be used for political retaliation, and as a forum for the display of anti-union propaganda."

In speaking for this resolution, Emil Mazey, Secretary-Treasurer of the United Automobile Workers, pointed out that investigators for the Committee were working against the UAW. He limited his attack to the Republican members of the committee, however, and to this mild threat: **"We ought to tell the McClellan Committee that if they expect our full cooperation then we should expect rules and regulations and conduct that will give the American labor movement and any other group they investigate fair play and honest play."**

A $62 a week truckdriver and his family of ten were evicted into the street on Nov. 15 by the City of New York because the owner of the building said he needed the apartment for storage space for his business.

. . . Foster Renews Attack

(Continued from page 1)

in the U.S. . . . . the social and political nature of the struggle will be generally democratic, not socialist."

The Foster document is replete with left-wing phraseology designed to capitalize on the sentiments of those who want to rebuild the CP as an effective instrument for participation in the class struggle. But a careful reading of the document shows that, as before, Foster has no real differences with Bittleman (or Gates) over "co-existence" or the "anti-monopoly coalition." His "difference" on the anti-monopoly coalition reduces itself to the statement that "monopoly capitalism must be compelled to accept peaceful co-existence. It will never do so voluntarily." Put aside for now is his October, 1955, prediction of a U.S. "peace movement" that would embrace "important sections of the bourgeoisie and even of monopoly capital itself."

DOUBLE-TALK

His call for revival of the slogan of a "Labor-Farmer party" is also left-wing window dressing. In the section of his document scheduled to appear in the January Political Affairs, Foster hastens to add on this point, "In this agitation, however, we must, as the main resolution states, realize that the Labor-Farmer party is 'not the only form' of mass political action." This means giving lip service to a labor party, but continuing support to the Democrats.

But if Foster is in basic agreement with Gates on these programmatic points, then what's the shooting about? An important clue to what is really at issue is found in Foster's restatement of his opposition to the CP participating in the present "regroupment" discussions among radicals as expressed in such bodies as the American Forum-For Socialist Education.

Foster is opposed to such discussion because it necessarily sparks a continuation of discussion within the CP itself. It is this that he is fighting to stamp out. In line with Moscow, he wants to drive every dissenting voice out of the Party. Even if it means reducing it to a totally isolated sect, Foster is determined to return the CP to its previous status as an ideological echo of the Soviet Party.

He will not even settle for such capitulation as was made by Gates at the national convention with the disgraceful "compromise" agreement that the party neither "condemn nor condone" the Soviet intervention in Hungary.

Foster now writes: "The Party must eliminate from its work the recently developed Right tendency to snipe at the USSR. . . . A special task for our Party is to realize that the intervention in Hungary was imperative. . . . The CPUSA is the only Communist Party in the world which does not take this realistic stand."

Nevertheless, Foster's drive to recast the CP into its pre-20th Congress mold will take a lot of doing. The source of the CP crisis lies in the fact that the Khrushchev revelations served, among other things, to smash the monolithic structure of the American CP. And when the floodgates of rank-and-file criticism opened it became clear that a big majority of the membership including many opposed to Gates, above all else want an end to ideological domination from abroad.

At the last convention, a letter from Duclos, similar to the one that dumped Browder in 1945, was rejected by the delegates out of hand. Prior to the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party, an attack in Kommunist on the Daily Worker editor would have been synonymous with his finish. Today Foster must try to rally the ranks to do the job.

Meanwhile, the Gates wing is faced with the question of its future. Its main source of strength within the CP today lies with those who are in revolt against Stalinism and who want the free discussion necessary for arriving at socialist answers. But the failure of Gates and his associates in the leadership to break with the class-collaborationist politics developed under Stalinism impairs their capacity to resist the revival of Stalinist monolithism.

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